

157 frighten Quain, too. One of their favorite stories was that the Nahukwa
186 chief, Aloike, was coming to take Quain. Aloike was a powerful sor-
203 cerer and had a reputation for treachery among all the tribes, and the
648 Nahukwa were probably feared more because of him than because of
any traditional enmity.

Wild tales were also told out of sheer perversity. A party of Kamayurá came to visit and announced that Quain's father would arrive in an airplane with gifts for the Trumai. On another occasion they said that a plane full of *brancos* (white men) had landed at the house of Thomas Young, an American missionary who lived further up the Kuliseu.

The Trumai, themselves, aggravated their own fears. One of them spoke at length in the men's circle on how the Kamayurá tortured their captives by piercing their arms and legs with arrow points. He also said that they beheaded them, stirred up their brains over a fire, and ate them. This was undoubtedly a false story born of fear and contrary to all the more reliable information on the treatment of captives. However, torture and ritual cannibalism of this sort once flourished in the tropical forest. It is, therefore, interesting that the Trumai should know of such practices.

648 Due to the constant fear of surprise attack shared by all the tribes,
302 it was considered bad policy to enter foreign territory without giving warning. This was done by building a fire. A party from the village then went out to investigate, unless it was definitely known who the intruders were. If a fire was seen by a traveling party, their canoes were beached and an answering fire was built.

648 Surprise meetings were to be avoided at all costs. When Quain was
186 traveling on the Kuliseu with a Trumai group, the sight of a Kamayurá canoe caused some concern. The chief was quite happy to note that
123 Quain left his rifle in the bottom of the boat, thereby giving a peaceable appearance.

181 According to Dyott, an English explorer who descended the Xingú
202 in 1938, arrows planted point first in the ground were "no trespassing"
648 signs.¹² He also said that whistling arrows were shot in the air to warn
strangers to stay away. The latter sign was, more accurately, an additional means of letting one's presence be known. Smoke spirals seen to the north or east always caused a great disturbance in the Trumai village, as these were thought to be Suyá fires. Since the upper Xingú people approached from the south, fires seen in this direction caused little alarm unless there had been rumors of some aggressive act by the Kamayurá or Nahukwa.

152 Fear of attack at times approached the point of hysteria. The high tension might last a few days, after which it would decline to the normal

¹² Dyott 1936, pp. 303-04.

226 although not everyone owned one. Quain also described Trumai fish nets, but netting must have been a minor technique, as he did not see it practiced during his stay.

[17] Throughout the upper Xingú area it was common practice to construct fish dams across the mouths of lagoons. There were two such fish weirs in the Trumai lagoon, one near its mouth, the other across a small inlet near the village. Their purpose was to block the fish from escape to the main stream when drugs were placed in the water. They were built by driving upright stakes into the floor of the lagoon, after which a wall of rubbish and branches was built against the fence. One dam was constructed by the village cooperatively, while the other was said to have been built by a single man.

226 423 The Trumai lagoon was considered the property of the community, and the Trumai maintained exclusive fishing rights in it. The water in the lagoon is clear in comparison to the muddy Kuluene, and the fishing excellent. A good proportion of the fishing was done there, especially when traps and poisons were used, but they also had fishing rights in other lagoons within the territory of abandoned Trumai villages. In addition, they fished in the Kuluene and Kulisen and ranged as far afield as the Batovi River.

576 201 While most fishing trips were carried out within a day, some lasted two or three days. When the fishermen returned, they were greeted with a conventional shout by all the villagers. The shout was meant to welcome the food rather than the fishermen, and similar cries were heard when well laden gathering parties returned from a short jaunt into the forest.

501 422 226 About one-half of the men owned canoes, and according to Quain's informants, only six did not know how to build them. The bark canoes of the upper Xingú are not difficult to make, and it can be assumed that the community did not need more, inasmuch as fishing parties always consisted of two men. Larger groups went out of the village in a body when many fish were needed for a ceremony or to feed guests, but they usually split into pairs. Cooperative fishing groups of more than two men were needed only for drugging and perhaps for netting. On one *tsuasi* fishing expedition over half the males of the village went to the lagoon with bundles of shredded bark. Quain noted that this was one of the few examples of group labor transcending the immediate family.

226 571 Two-man fishing expeditions were composed of the owner or borrower of the canoe and his helper (*tsu*). The *tsu* generally paddled while the owner fished. Only while serving as a helper was he referred to as the *tsu* of that man. Thus, if a person went as the helper of Makurawa, he was referred to as "Makurawatsu." He shared in the catch, but whether he received less than the canoe owner is not indicated by the field notes. There seemed to be no fixed standard for the selection of the *tsu*, nor

were the teams always the same. Old Matiwana and his son Yati fished together most of the time, as did Aloari and his true brother Tun. Other true brothers often fished together, but, with the exception of the two above-mentioned steadfast teams, men chose their fishing companions according to their mutual needs or plans for the day. Since such agreements occurred most often between members of the same household, co-residents often cooperated. One man, Jakuma, spent much of his time fishing as the *tsu* of different canoe owners or borrowers. He had no wife, and his garden, which he did not till very diligently, was very small. His fishing partners included men from every household, who were related to him in various degrees. 226
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Although the position of *tsu* was a temporarily subordinate one, it caused no loss of status. Even the Trumai chief, since he owned no canoe, went fishing as a *tsu*. Occasionally men took their wives along, but fishing was a man's specialty, and the woman's function was restricted to paddling. [558]
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Gathering

The two most important food products that the Trumai gathered were turtle eggs and the fruit of the *pigui* tree, or *tsinon*. Throughout the dry season, turtle eggs were gathered in great quantity on the banks and sandbars of the rivers. By September they were no longer available and, in the following month, *pigui* became the main objective of the gathering parties. The harvest of this fruit was stored and lasted nearly to the end of the rainy season. *Pigui* was an important staple, especially in the period before crops ripened. Most of the *pigui* trees grow wild, but there is a suggestion in Quain's notes that they might also have been transplanted when young. All of the *pigui* trees were individually owned, and proprietary rights of individuals to groups of trees were clearly understood by all. In order to make the fruit ripen fast, the owner of the trees built a slow-burning fire of grass underneath them at night. The early rainy season was a rather lean period, so that there was great joy when the *pigui* was heard falling in the forest. Everyone broke into shouts of "*kaha kaha kaha-a-a*," which was the conventional cry for greeting the first *pigui*. These shouts were slightly different from those welcoming fish brought into the village. 222
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The first fruit was usually gathered by the owner of the trees and his family. However, when the fruit began to fall in great quantity there was a general harvest which was shared without regard for tree ownership.

Pigui gathering started in the middle of October, when the planting season had ended and the men were free to help in the gathering. However, men still fished frequently, and the burden of the gathering fell on the women and older boys. Women from the same household 222
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